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562 561 terms are summaries of status in farm economy, family life, and the cliques of the community.

834 208 Consequently the comment and attitude of the small farmers toward sexual behavior cannot be divorced from their appreciation of status in family and community. For them sexual behavior is merely one aspect, not of individual personality, but of sociological role. If one turns to any record of the sort of commentary and discussion the small farmers carry on among themselves, both in the semi-public discussion of the *cuaird* and in the more private talk of conversation among friends of a common age and status, one encounters a characteristic set of remarks and evaluations. These are for the most part discussions of specific persons in specific events. The attitudes expressed are directed now toward persons, now toward general conditions, now toward moral or ethical imperatives, now toward cosmological principle. Yet always, if sex is the subject, the status of the actors and the interests of the familist farm economy are the themes.

562 842 Women are valued and praised for their fecundity. All this is part of generally accepted convention among the small farmers, and such conversations as the following are not in the least unusual, despite the very great modesty and reticence of the farmers. A small farmer is praising an old woman, the head of the household, to one of the authors and contrasting her to her son's wife, both being listeners:

> Here is a woman that has no more milk of her own. They shouldn't allow a woman like that to breed because a man should always keep his wife in the milk. The old woman, God bless her, raised every child with the didi [breast].

369 831 The country-bred boy and girl grow up in an atmosphere of constant reference to sex and breeding. There seems to be little of the ignorance about such matters which the townsman delights so in attributing to country people. In Ireland, no less than elsewhere in the world, the antagonism between town and country often expresses itself in such

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joking ascription of ignorance and stupidity. In Ireland, however, there is another side of the expression of town and country distrust. The countryside points to prostitution and immorality in the towns and finds something to back up its condemnations. The town returns its dislike with double measure and accuses the countryside of primitive lack of all sensitivity of feeling or restraint of impulse. But these antagonistic attitudes and ways of regarding other groups than one's own are not our concern here. They are of interest here because such ascriptions of ignorance are part of a common misapprehension of the complexity of the peasant attitudes.

For instance, to an outsider the countrymen will seem often to give a mere lip service to the attitudes of the townsman, for one is always apt to mistake the function of hearty laughter. The country people have strict moral and ethical attitudes around the question of sex, as rigid as those of any other class if not more so. Yet they have conventional licenses and conventional niceties which do not coincide with those of the other classes and are thus open to misunderstanding. And, like all classes and peoples, they have two sets of attitudes, not one, and these are "ambivalent," to adopt the Freudian term.

But these attitudes and their "ambivalent" nature, the kind of alternation they seem to present, must be understood in terms of the social relationships of the countryside. The greatest single cause of misapprehension lies here. In different contexts, toward different persons, in connection with different events, one and the same person regards the same subjects quite differently.

For example, in discussions of the peccadillos of young people and the censurable events of the district the farmers and their wives were full of animus against the "crabbit" great "bucks" of lads who led girls astray and from whom the innocent were not safe. Yet even then, in discussing the fault of such amorous lads and the necessity of circum-

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369 834 208 522 spection and immediate and frequent confession for girls as their best defense, one sees that the pure young maidens are also not without blame. They bear the taint of Eve. "Sure the boys have no chance," said one woman in this respect, "for the girls always lay the blame on them." Yet these attitudes coexist together with other very hearty, casual, and sometimes ribald attitudes which make their appearance in banter, joke, and repartee even between speakers of different sex. These even take the form of taunts about prowess and mild ridicule for the possession of a greater relish than is meet, or fanciful recitation of past magnificent misdeeds. This is particularly true in the recitations of stories and adventures of persons in the ken of the community, where details of amorous desire and accomplishment are given with considerable gusto, and greeted and reiterated again and again amid hearty laughter.

369 834 208 [178] Certain observers profess to find the puritanical outlook on sexual matters on the increase in the countryside. The country people themselves purport to see a change in their own outlook. And it may be that the last generation has brought a considerable spread of Catholic moral standards with the spread of education and the opening of the countryside to urban influence.

In any event the laughter and hearty guffaws with which references of nearly any kind to sexual intercourse, sexual attraction, and childbearing are greeted, and the evident interest they evoke, are very much part of the everyday behavior of the small farmers. They do not imply in any sense an approval or acceptance of the deeds described. They are rather expressions of a very definite judgment. They are in the nature of a condemnation in which laughter is itself a sanction upon the forbidden.[1]

[1] The authors accept readily the view of laughter as a response to a situation where socially conditioned values are threatened with upset and yet not so deeply or irrevocably broken as to bring out a full reproval. The view is well developed by Pilkington and agrees with that of Max Eastman. The tabloid reader is not

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The "earthiness" and the ribaldry of the country people is not an antithesis to their strict moral code. Rather it reinforces it. It gives its pietistic and too-respectable, churchly and town-bourgeois aspects an authentic, indigenous touch. Even more important, it makes for a modification of the conventional attitudes which fit them for the country people's social life.

In this ambivalence of attitude one can see the identifications between status in human relations and norms about sexual behavior more clearly. The one view, that "holiness" denies sex, can be reserved to suit the non-procreant statuses of family life. The other, the hearty and open view embodying animal analogy, frank interest, overt desire, can be reserved for the persons whose roles in social life allow free rein to the amatory and procreative urges.

For the small farmers marriages are for the purpose of producing children and assuring continuity of descent and ownership. They are "forever." They are indissoluble. Sexual relations are part of marriage, its pleasure and its duty. They lead to children if one is fortunate and strong and potent. It is the will of God. One may regret that one's childbearing came so early. There might have been more time for free enjoyment. But it is a regret to which one resigns oneself easily.

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weakening his horror of murder or his distaste for adulterous behavior, however familiar his tabloid-viewing may make them. Similarly the Englishman reading his detective stories and the Frenchman listening to his *chanteuses* are merely indulging vicarious "thrills." All of them are going through a playful rehearsal of the conditioned reflexes of social sanction, indignation, rage, and punitive action in the same way a dog growls and bares his fangs at his play fighting. The idea may seem a bit ludicrous in itself, and it will offend the moralists. But let them remember that in most persons moral and ethical activity is absolutely unreasoned, spontaneous, and without any kind of intellectual support at all. It is pure reflex. Like any other reflex, it must be kept alive by a constant restimulation. Only overzealous priests, reformers, teachers, "nice people," and prudes miss this point. They fail to understand that vulgarity often hides far stricter morality than hypocritic cant. This laughter represents a constant and not unpleasurable reiteration of the accepted canons of morality upon so important a matter.

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464 try at all) is included. At the time, 1926, the census recorded 6.9 per cent of men and 3.4 per cent women as unemployed, figures to be added to make industrial totals. The percentages were very low, and by the advent of the De Valera regime in 1931 had increased considerably. However numerous they are, they do not change the industrial pic-
471 ture very much in Ireland. Small enterprises predominate, and very little of the great developments of the machine age is present. The supply and service industries are in a definite preponderance, and in that fact reflect the country's dependence upon its agriculture and agriculturalists.

463 The Census of Occupations is quite different in purpose from that of industries and industrial status and proceeds by different counts. To quote the notes:

> The difference between statistics of occupation and industries must be kept clearly in view. . . . A person's occupation is defined by the operations he performs in earning his living: grainmiller, jamboiler, tramdriver, packer, clerk. A person follows his occupation within a certain industry or service. Some occupations are peculiar to a single industry or service, . . . others are found in very many industries and services. . . .[1]

The Census of Occupations is obviously in many ways an elaboration of that of industries. The two overlap frequently. Yet they are distinct enough to give us an alternate view of Irish industrial activity of great detail. If now we examine this view for what it will tell us of the survival of rural industry, we see again that occupations other than those of farming are very few indeed in the country districts.

463 Table 5 records the occupations of the whole country
● 369 classed within industries. It lists followers of occupations living in rural districts in the left-hand column and followers of those living in urban districts in the right-hand column. Weighting the figures for all occupied persons properly between towns and country districts, we find that

[1] *Census of Population, 1926*, vol. II, p. 5.

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TABLE 5

Comparison of Rural and Urban Occupations, 1926
Irish Free State [1]

The table lists in the left-hand column, under the heading "Rural Occupation," those occupations 67 per cent or more of whose followers live in country districts or places under 1,500 population. It lists in the right-hand column, under the heading "Urban Occupations," those less than 67 per cent of whose followers live in country districts or places under 1,500 population. Percentage figures near 67 per cent are usually given; those greatly divergent are omitted. Industrial categories grouping occupations are listed at the head of the occupations. Figures for females of each occupation, and sometimes for males, are omitted if very small.

Rural Occupations	Urban Occupations
I. Agriculture and Fishing	
Farmers, male	Gardeners and nurserymen, 62%
Farmers, female	Gardeners' laborers, 62%
Sons assisting farmers	
Daughters assisting farmers	
Other relatives assisting, male	
Other relatives assisting, female	
Farm managers	
Agricultural laborers living in	
Agricultural laborers living away	
Woodmen	
Other agricultural labor	
Fishermen	
II. Mining and Quarrying	
Coal-mining	
Quarrying and other mining	
III. Producers, Makers, and Repairers	
a. Makers of Food	
Creamery workers, 80%	Employers, managers, 62%
	Bakers, pastry cooks, biscuit makers
	Sugar, sweet, jam makers
	Grain millers
	Other skilled food makers, including foremen
	Other unskilled food makers
b. Makers of Drink and Tobacco	
	Employers, managers, foremen
	Maltsters
	Other skilled workers
	Other makers of drink
	Makers of tobacco and snuff

[1] Based on Irish Free State Census, 1926, vol. II, Occupations. Categories are sometimes not exactly those of the census but are occasionally grouped together for convenience.

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TABLE 5 (*continued*)

Rural Occupations	Urban Occupations
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c. Textile Workers	
Breakers and scutchers, 89%	Employers, managers, foremen
Knitters, female, 67%	Spinners, piecers, carders, winders
	Winders, female
	Weavers, 49%
	Weavers, female, 30%
	Knitters, male
	Hand-lace workers, female, 65%
	Other skilled textile workers
	Other textile workers
d. Makers of Apparel and Textile Goods	
	Employers, managers
	Boot and shoe makers, 40%
	Cutters
	Tailors, tailors' machinists, 50%
	Dressmakers, female, 50%
	Sewers and sewing machinists, female
	Embroidering, female
	Other skilled workers
	Other workers
e. Workers in Hides, Skins, Leather, not Boots or Shoes	
	Workers in hides, skins
	Saddlers, 50%
	Other makers of leather goods
f. Workers in Wood and Furniture	
	Employers and managers
	Carpenters, 57%
	Cartwrights, wheelwrights, 28%
	Sawyers and wood machinists, 28%
	Coopers, 20%
	Basket makers
	Boat and barge builders
	Cabinetmakers
	Upholsterers, coach trimmers
	Other skilled workers
	Other workers
g. Metal Workers	
Employers, managers, 67%	Foundry workers
Smiths, 67%	Motor mechanics, 30%
	Cycle mechanics
	Mechanics
	Fitters
	Plumbers
	Tinsmiths, sheet-metal workers
	Machine-tool workers
	Boilermakers, shipwrights
	Other skilled metal workers
	Other metal workers

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TABLE 5 (*continued*) 463 369

Rural Occupations	Urban Occupations
	h. Electrical Workers
	Electrical fitters and wiremen
	i. Workers in Chemical Processes, Makers of Fertilizers, Soaps, Paints, and Workers in and Makers of Paper and Cardboard
	Skilled workers
	Other workers
	j. Printers, Bookbinders, Photographers
	Employers, managers, foremen
	Compositors
	Printers
	Bookbinders
	Photographers
	Printing-machine setters and minders
	Machine assistants
	Others
	k. Builders, Bricklayers, Stone and Slate Workers and Contractors
Foremen and overlookers, 75%	Employers and managers
Masons, 75%	Bricklayers
Platelayers, 75 %	Plasterers
Contractors' laborers and navvies, 74%	Slaters, tilers
	Other skilled workers
	Builders' laborers, 25%
	Other workers
	l. Painters and Decorators
	Employers, managers, and foremen
	House, ship, general painters
	Painters of vehicles
	Other workers
	m. Other Producers, Makers, and Repairers
	Watch and clock makers and repairers
	Workers in precious metals
	Electroplate workers
	Makers of bricks and earthenware
	Makers of glass and glassware
	Brushmakers
	Other skilled workers
	Workers in gas works
	IV. Transport and Communication
	a. Railway Workers
	Station masters and railway officials, 50%
	Locomotive engine drivers
	Firemen

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TABLE 5 (*continued*)

Rural Occupations	Urban Occupations
	Cleaners
	Guards
	Signalmen, 58%
	Shunters, level-crossing keepers, 40%
	Ticket collectors, checkers
	Railway porters
	Other special railway occupations
	b. Road Transport Workers
	Proprietors, managers of motor car garages
	Drivers of motor vehicles, 40%
	Drivers of horse vehicles for passengers
	Drivers of horse lorries, carts, vans, 25%
	Tramdrivers
	Tram and bus conductors
	Grooms, 53%
	Other road transport workers
	c. Water Transport Workers
	Ship owners
	Harbor officials and stevedores
	Navigating and engineering officers
	Petty officers, seamen, deck hands
	Firemen, donkeymen
	Barge- and boatmen, 40%
	Dock laborers
	Other water transport workers
	d. Other Transport Workers
	Post office sorters
	Postmen, 61%
	Telegraph operators
	Telephone operators
	Telephone operators, female
	Messengers
	Porters
	Other workers
V. Commercial, Insurance, Finance	
	Cattle, sheep, pig, horse dealers, 53%
	Shopkeepers, male, 43%
	Shopkeepers, female, 39%
	Shop assistants and salesmen, male, 30%
	Shop assistants and salesmen, female, 30%
	Buyers
	Agents and factors (coal, drapery, etc.)

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TABLE 5 (*continued*)

Rural Occupations	Urban Occupations
	Commercial travelers
	Van salesmen and canvassers
	Hawkers of coal, vegetables, etc.
	Newspaper sellers
	Bank officials not clerks
	Insurance officials and agents
	Auctioneers and valuers
	Other commercial, insurance, finance occupations
VI. Public Administration and Defense, excluding Professional Men and Typists	
	Civil service officials and clerks
	Local authority officials and clerks
	Civic guards, 60%
	Army, commissioned officers
	Army, others
	Others in defense
VII. Professional Occupations	
Catholic clergymen, 65%	Other clergymen, 60%
Schoolteachers, male, 65%	Nuns and postulants, female, 34%
Schoolteachers, female, 67%	Christian brothers and monks
	Religious lay brothers
	Theological students, 54%
	Church officials, 50%
	Barristers
	Solicitors
	Medical doctors
	Dentists
	Veterinarians
	Midwives, female, 40%
	Sick nurses, female, 40%
	Music teachers
	Civil engineers and surveyors
	Chartered accountants
	Analytical chemists
	Professional students and articled clerks
	Journalists and authors
	Other professions
VIII. Personal Service	
Gamekeepers, 87%	Domestic servants living in, male, 60%
	Domestic servants living in, female, 58%
	Domestic servants away, male, 40%
	Domestic servants away, female, 45%
	Hotel and restaurant keepers, male and female, 25%

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TABLE 5 (*continued*)

Rural Occupations	Urban Occupations
	Publicans, male, 56%
	Publicans, female, 53%
	Bar attendants, male, 46%
	Bar attendants, female, 54%
	Waiters
	Laundry workers
	Hairdressers
	Caretakers
	Charwomen, office cleaners, female
	Others in personal service
IX. Clerks and Draughtsmen and All Typists, but not in Civil Service or Local Authority	
	Heads of commercial sections of business
	Clerks, 14%
	Typists, male
	Typists, female
	Clerks, female
X. Other Gainful Occupations — Entertainment	
Race horse trainers and jockeys, 78%	Proprietors, managers
	Actors
	Musicians
	Other occupations, sport, entertainment
XI. Warehouses, Stores, Packing	
	Warehousemen and storekeepers
	Packers and other warehouse assistants
XII. Other and Undefined Gainful Occupations	
	Stationary engine drivers
	Timekeepers, gatekeepers
	Watchmen
	General and unclassified laborers, 25%
	Other and unclassified occupations
XIII. Persons Twelve Years Old and Over not Gainfully Occupied	
At school, 12–18, male, 69%	Retired from active occupation, not army or navy, 57%
At school, 12–18, female, 69%	Retired from active occupation, female, 50%
	Ex-officers of army and navy not described, 39%
	Students over 18, male, 50%
	Students over 18, female, 50%

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on the basis of chance expectancy any occupational class should have about two-thirds of its members in the country districts and one-third in the towns. It follows then that any occupation two-thirds or more of whose followers are still recorded as country dwellers can safely be called a rural occupation. Any occupation whose followers are less than two-thirds country dwellers can be called urban.

In the table, therefore, occupations 67 per cent or more of whose followers are rural are listed in the left-hand column. They are called rural occupations for our purposes. Those occupations which have less than 67 per cent of their followers residing in the country districts are listed in the right-hand column. They are called, for our purposes, urban occupations. In some cases the percentage of the followers of an occupation who are country dwellers is given for reference, particularly where it is near the critical percentage, 67 per cent, but in most cases, where it is not close to 67 per cent, it is omitted.

In actual number the followers of non-agricultural occupations in the countryside are not a small army. They are 249, 930 persons, to compare with 658,800 agriculturalists of one sort or another. Of this army the largest single total is to be found among the "other producers," that is, those not listed in the recognized census industries, such as transport, communications, trade and commerce, the professions, or "personal service." There are 194,969 "other producers" in the country districts today.

A glance at the left-hand column of the table shows that there are practically no characteristically rural occupations left other than agriculture and the small occupations of fishing, coal mining, quarrying, creamery working. Breaking and scutching and hand knitting are still country occupations, but their followers are few. The rest of the textile workers are characteristically townsmen today. Tailors and shoemakers and woodworkers, even carpenters, are towns-

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men today, overwhelmingly so, though among carpenters quite a few rural ones still survive. Smiths and employers in smithing and other metals businesses, many of whom are presumably smiths employing a few hands, often their sons, are still country dwellers characteristically. Masons and foremen and overlookers of construction and building are still country dwellers, as are contractors' navvies and platelayers. Except for the smith, therefore, there are no characteristically rural artisans left outside the building trades.

Those in the building trades or in construction, in the west at least, are not highly skilled men at all, not even the masons. They are largely laborers and landless cotters who work for local authorities as stone breakers and suppliers of gravel and broken rock for road construction. They are often farmers' sons who get work off the farm whenever they find work is to be had. Yet the local mason who puts up stone houses in the countryside, and the petty contractor ready to get up a crew of local boys for any sort of building, are still characteristically rural dwellers and part of the rural scene.

In transport industries the only occupation which is even nearly rural in complexion is that of postman, for obvious
[205] reasons. The local post office is usually a small crossroads shop in the western counties. The post office workers are members of the rural communities they serve.

In commerce, in spite of the two currents at work, no occupation is characteristically rural. Dealers in animal produce, however, come closest to it. Yet most livestock and animal produce dealers are now townsmen, often town shopkeepers as well. The country shop at a crossroad is still important but not characteristic.

Civic guards, clergymen, and schoolteachers make up the only other occupational classes in the country who still live in the rural districts and are part of rural communities.

Three other occupational classes, according to the table,

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are also characteristically rural still today. These are gamekeepers, race-horse trainers, and jockeys. These are, of course, employees of the landed gentry who follow the cult of the horse. They are more often to be found now in the eastern midland counties than elsewhere today.

In County Clare rural occupations other than agricultural are equally rare. There the figures necessitate a slightly different definition of rural districts, since certain towns smaller than 1500 possessing local self-government are included in the town areas. But, by the same procedure as before, we can divide the proportions of total population into rural population in the county and then classify the occupations in Clare according to their rural or urban character.

In Clare, of course, there are no very large cities. The county counts 5,023 males and 5,522 females in town districts, and the overwhelming majority are country dwellers as one would expect in the agricultural west. The total rural districts in 1926 numbered 45,048 male inhabitants and 39,471 female. As befits a largely agricultural area such as the county, occupations and industries show a little different distribution. The population is for males 89 per cent rural and for females 88 per cent rural. Those gainfully occupied in rural districts number for males well over two-thirds of the total population, for females only one-fifth of the total, so that for men, at least, the numbers recorded as unoccupied are negligible. The low figure for occupied females is due to the inclusion of housewives among the unoccupied. The rural-urban ratio upon which we can build expectancies of proportions of followers of occupations to be found in towns or countryside is 92 per cent for males and 84 per cent for females. As for the whole country, female occupations are found only in the towns.

The table for Clare (Table 6) repeats practically exactly the same story as that for Ireland as a whole. In fact, the

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TABLE 6

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COMPARISON OF RURAL AND URBAN OCCUPATIONS, 1926, COUNTY CLARE[1]

The table lists in the left-hand column, under the heading "Rural Occupations," those occupations 89 per cent or more of whose followers live in country districts or places under 1,500 population or in places having local self-government (a special case). It lists in the right-hand column, under the heading "Urban Occupations," those occupations less than 89 per cent of whose followers live in country districts or places under 1,500 population. Percentages near 89 per cent are given; those greatly divergent are omitted. Industrial categories grouping occupations are listed at the head of occupations. Occupations represented in Table 5 which are not listed here have so small a following in County Clare that they are included among "Others." Figures in parentheses following occupations give the total numbers for County Clare.

RURAL OCCUPATIONS	URBAN OCCUPATIONS
I. Agriculture and Fishing	
Agricultural occupations, male, 99% (23,572)	Fishermen, 84% (199)
Agricultural occupations, female, 99% (5,307)	
II. Mining and Quarrying	
Mining and quarrying, 92% (21)	
III. Producers, Makers, and Repairers	
a. Makers of Food	
	Employers, managers, 60% (21)
	Bakers, 50% (82)
	Makers of foods, female, 61% (13)
	Others, 20% (80)
b. Makers of Drink and Tobacco	
	Makers of drink, 99% (12)
	Makers of tobacco (0)
c. Textile Workers	
Textile workers, male, 95% (43)	
Textile workers, female, 87% (15)	
d. Makers of Apparel and Textile Goods	
	Employers, managers, 70% (48)
	Tailors, 67% (180)
	Bootmakers, 65% (141)
	Employers and managers, female, 70% (14)
	Dressmakers, female, 71% (304)
	Milliners, female, 50% (43)
	Others, female, 50% (13)

[1] Based on Irish Free State Census, 1926, vol. II, Occupations. The Census does not divide occupations within this category between rural and urban districts for Clare. It gives merely the total for the category of occupational classifications.

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TABLE 6 (*continued*)

Rural Occupations	Urban Occupations
e. Workers in Hides, Skins, Leather, not Boots or Shoes	Saddlers, 67% (45)
f. Workers in Wood and Furniture	Employers, managers, foremen, 71% (38) Carpenters, 84% (491) Cartwrights, 40% (27) Others, 60% (66)
g. Metal Workers	Employers, managers, 84% (56) Smiths, 85% (199) Fitters, 67% (31) Plumbers, 50% (11) Motor mechanics, 40% (91) Other mechanics, 80% (69) Others, 80% (112)
h. Electrical Workers	Electrical apparatus makers and fitters, 80% (87)
i. Workers in Chemical Processes, Makers of Fertilizers, Soaps, Paints, and Workers in and Makers of Paper and Cardboard	
j. Printers, Bookbinders, Photographers	Compositors and printers, 0% (16)
k. Builders, Bricklayers, Stone and Slate Workers, and Contractors	
Contractors' laborers and navvies, 91% (2,054)	Employers, managers, foremen, 88% (136) Bricklayers, 40% (5) Plasterers, 42% (28) Masons, 87% (114) Builders' laborers, 43% (121) Others, 78% (88)
l. Painters and Decorators	Painters and decorators, 43% (65)
m. Other Producers, Makers, and Repairers	Others, 50% (50)
IV. Transport and Communication	
a. Railway Workers	Railway officials not clerks, 84% (21) Locomotive engine drivers, 67% (34) Firemen, 33% (16) Porters, 60% (45) Others not clerks, 60% (41)

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TABLE 6 (*continued*)

Rural Occupations	Urban Occupations
b. Road Transport Workers	
	Proprietors, managers, foremen, 50% (21)
	Motor drivers, 50% (231)
	Drivers, horse vehicles for passengers, 60% (13)
	Drivers for goods, 50% (96)
	Others, 50% (6)
c. Water Transport Workers	
	Dock laborers, 9% (54)
	Boatmen, 88% (116)
d. Other Transport Workers	
Postmen and post-office sorters, 89% (190)	Messengers, 50% (39)
	Porters, 13% (63)
	Others, 80% (5)
V. Commerce, Insurance, Finance	
	Cattle, sheep, horse, pig dealers, 65% (69)
	Shopkeepers, 62% (574)
	Shopkeepers, female, 55% (341)
	Shopkeepers' assistants and salesmen, 50% (378)
	Shop assistants, female, 54% (263)
	Commercial travelers, 40% (25)
	Van salesmen and canvassers, 50% (15)
	Insurance canvassers and agents, 50% (19)
	Others not clerks and typists, 47% (83)
	Others not clerks, female, 80% (10)
VI. Public Administration and Defense, excluding Professional Men and Typists	
	Civil service officers and clerks, 68% (102)
	Local authority officers and clerks, 59% (78)
	Civic guards, 82% (260)
	Army officers, 5% (42)
	Civil service officers and clerks, female, 86% (93)
	Local authority officers and clerks, female, 30% (15)
VII. Professional Occupations	
Catholic clergymen, 90% (120)	Other clergymen, 69% (13)
Theological students, 90% (32)	Christian brothers and monks, 35% (14)
Mental attendants, female, 91% (57)	Nuns and postulants, 50% (227)
Schoolteachers, male, 86% (200)	Solicitors, 40% (10)
Schoolteachers, female, 91% (322)	Medical doctors, 77% (46)

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TABLE 6 (*continued*)

Rural Occupations	Urban Occupations
	Dentists, 13% (8)
	Civil engineers and surveyors, 79% (28)
	Other professional, 63% (90)
	Other professional, female, 75% (23)
	Mental attendants, 50% (33)
	Registered midwives, 75% (4)
	Sick nurses, female, 77% (121)
	VIII. Personal Service
	Domestic servants, male, 83% (63)
	Domestic servants living in, female, 78% (1,312)
	Domestic servants living out, female, 75% (451)
	Hotel and boarding-house keepers, male, 78% (45)
	Hotel keepers, female, 50% (157)
	Publicans, 70% (229)
	Publicans, female, 75% (145)
	Bar men, 75% (76)
	Barmaids, 76% (113)
	Waitresses, 67% (15)
	Laundry women, 60% (27)
	Charwomen, 30% (24)
	Others, female, 40% (11)
	Hairdressers, 30% (19)
	Others, 57% (57)
	IX. Clerks and Draughtsmen and All Typists, but not in Civil Service or Local Authority
	Clerks, all typists, male, 45% (153)
	Clerks, all typists, female, 57% (82)
	X. Other Gainful Occupations — Entertainment
	Entertainment and sports, male, 59% (42)
	XI. Warehouses, Stores, Packing
	Warehousemen and assistants, 75%, (23)
	XII. Other and Undefined Gainful Occupations
	Stationary engine drivers, 80% (45)
	All others, 50% (33)
	All others, female, 60% (41)
	General laborers, 48% (387)
	XIII. Persons Twelve Years Old and Over not Gainfully Occupied
Retired, 87% (637)	Ex-officers, ex-soldiers, etc., 69% (137)
At school, male, 87% (3,504)	Students over 18 not elsewhere recorded, 83% (92)
At school, female, 86% (3,482)	Not yet at work, male, 77% (281)
Others, male, 90% (1,620)	Not yet at work, female, 75% (336)
Engaged in home duties, female, 88% (17,657)	Others, female, 83% (3,602)

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463 dropping away of rural occupations other than agricultural
369 is even more marked. Yet the smith, carpenter, mason, building-contractor, employer, and foreman, and their navvies and laborers are characteristically rural producers. Only they of all the occupations and crafts survive in rural districts, with the exception of the very few textile workers. But the figures for the weavers of Clare are somewhat deceptive, since one of Clare's few industries was a tweed factory in Sixmilebridge, a town just too small to be excluded from the rural districts. Actually except for them the rural weaver is nearly entirely gone.

In Clare, as in the whole country, two professional occupations are still rural. Priests and schoolteachers are country dwellers. And theological students, characteristically "strong" farmers' sons destined for the priesthood, are rural too. That female mental hospital attendants should be
[743] characteristically rural in Clare is a statistical accident due entirely to the fact that the County Mental Hospital happens to be just outside an urban boundary.

The statistical record restates the fact that today in Ireland no less than elsewhere social differentiation on the basis of occupation and technique is an urban matter. The countryside has been relegated entirely to the agriculturalist. Only very few others occupy the countryside with him in the face of the extreme division of labor of modern industrial civilization. The Irish countryside is an extreme example of the relegation of the rural districts to agriculture. Nevertheless the statistical record shows us that a few of the rural artisans survive. It demonstrates too that a few men of professional status still serve the rural community. Even the crossroad shopkeeper is an important rural figure still, though he does not count a sufficiently large number to distinguish himself statistically as a rural occupation.

Occupational and technological differentiation is thus not entirely lacking in the country districts. Such division

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of labor of a non-agricultural character as still persists in the country communities is very simple. Yet it is an interesting part of community life. It affords status to local artisans in the lives of the small farmers.

The families upon the separate farms are not, of course, entirely self-dependent units. We have already had occasion to examine the kind of coöperation called cooring, often based upon the extended family which flourishes in the country districts. Such reciprocal aids in ordinary farm work are only one part of the fabric of services which one meets among the country people. Another part can be distinguished. It takes account of what elementary specialization in local techniques and handicrafts exists. The man or woman skilled in some particular branch of work is called the "handy man." The handy man is an important person at the times when his or her special skill comes into use. The local reputation of such a specialist is sufficient to keep the recognition of his skill alive between periods of use and to afford him a definite status. In the country districts of Clare even full-fledged artisans, appearing in census records as full-time carpenters, smiths, and the like, sons of fathers and grandfathers who followed the same trade, are not much more than local specialists.

Many a farmer is still a jack-of-all-trades, ready if need be to turn his hand to shoeing his horse or resoling a boot or building himself a house. Only where the products of factory and foundry have become deeply entrenched in farm life, embodying skills of distant workers abroad, do local goods and services represent techniques the small farmer cannot come close to emulating. For example, the smelting of iron is a process completely unknown, and neither the local blacksmith nor the farmer can do more than rework the iron they have at hand. But the blacksmith and the farmer both can do it, though it is the blacksmith who has the greater skill. In the countryside the techniques and the

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II

Countrymen at Work

To bring you closer to the way of life we glimpsed through the window of old custom, I must try to clothe it in flesh and blood. It will not do to make the mistake of etherealizing it. Men everywhere face the same first necessities; they must live; they must feed, clothe and shelter themselves.

My subject, then, is the countryman at work. How does he make his livelihood in the Irish countryside? What is the work he does, and what are his incentives and rewards? Economic interpretations of history, sociology, anthropology are the fashion. What understanding can an economic inquiry yield us?

The first task in such an inquiry is to clear away the ground one is to examine. To look at the work of the countryman of rural Ireland demands dipping into the economics of the whole Free State. The countryman occupies an important place which must be recognized. It should not be discouraging that the task involves recourse to cold statistics. After all, the greatest array of numbers is a mere count of some sort of human activity; one can remember the living beings behind them.

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369 In the search for the countryman, one can break
241 through census records and production figures to find him pursuing his daily and annual round.

The task is simplified immensely by the fact that in 1926 the Free State Government undertook a complete census of the country. In the tables prepared there, the countrymen distinguish themselves
[162] in a variety of ways. They are the most numerous group in the country. Out of nearly three million inhabitants, one million eight hundred thousand, or 63 per cent, live in rural areas, outside cities and towns. Not all these country-dwellers are farmers,
241 of course, but the vast majority are. Fifty-one per cent of all occupied persons, male and female, in southern Ireland work at agriculture.

But these agriculturalists are not all alike, of course. Distinctions appear among them which are important to an understanding of the countryman. For example, the farms on which they work differ widely in size. Relative proportions of small and large farms vary with different parts of the country, but nevertheless small farms predominate in all Ireland. A farm over 200 acres is a rarity, comparatively speaking; most of them do not reach 100 acres. Thirty or fifty acres is the average size.

When one looks at the numbers of people these farms support, however, the small holdings come forward much more strongly. There are many more persons supported upon farms under thirty acres

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V

Shops, Pubs and Fairs

369 In many ways the town is an alien world, even a hostile one, to the countryman. He feels its scorn of his rusticity and distrusts its urbane way. Yet the town has an attraction for him no less strong in rural Ireland than elsewhere in the world. It weans away his sons and daughters. It brings him the breath of the outer world. After all, metropolis is a relative term. Metropolitan prestige is an infinite gradation in which the smallest hamlet may have a share with Megalopolis. Metropolitan prejudice is no less capable of minute division, and country towns engender little cockneys as quickly as might London produce a great one. They, too, would feel with Dr. Johnson that the fairest prospect in all Scotland was the road to London Town.

For if Megalopolis is the crossroads of the world, the country town is no less so. The difference is merely one of scale. Broadway, Piccadilly, and the Place de l'Opéra have counterparts in any country town.

361 In Ireland the parallel is more apt than one might credit at first thought. Irish towns have always been little more than crossroad centres.

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the merchant-burghers who flourished in them must remain of English blood and habit.

All that, of course, has long since vanished. The Irish have occupied the towns of their own land, their blood and habit hold sway and fashion urban commerce in the towns and cities. The change has been a slow and durable growth, flowing on beneath the surface of political and cultural strife. But like all growth it has been a process of incorporation, too. Today, to a casual eye, the shops, the commerce, the social life of the Irish town is much like that of all modern western Europe.

Such is the history, briefly put, which has provided the scene that interests the social anthropologist. It is in this scene that he can inquire into the bonds this conquest has created. He can appraise through them the factors which make up the countryman's participation in the larger world. Many fields for investigation present themselves in this connection. Townsmen and countrymen are now equally part, each in his own way, of that whole we name Irish society. From his own vantage each acts toward the other and builds up a relationship with him in such a way as to determine in some degree the form of that whole. This relation, an instance of the age-old reciprocity between town and country, invites our examination.

In Ireland today, one can see this relation most definitely and most significantly in the ties between shopkeeper and countryman. In the west and south

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369 of the Free State, at least, the landlord is gone and the true big farmer is rare. The town's hinterland is the world of the small farmers. And the town lives by its connection with the social order to which the countryman is attached. One need probe only a little way beneath the surface of conventionalities to learn that the connection is much more than the economics of distribution and exchange.

366 347 369 342 In the first place, the shop is also the seat of a familistic identification, very like that of land and farm. Ireland is better supplied with shops, at least in number, than any comparable European nation. A very large proportion of her population lives by retail trade. But one must not think of these shops, so numerous in every Irish town, as great department stores, or as units in a country-wide chain. The former, of course, do exist in cities, and the latter, called multiple-shops, are a new invasion. They have little place as yet in the smaller towns. The typical shop is a less imposing affair. It supports, normally, only the family which works it.

Such a shop is most often a small two-story building. The ground floor is evenly divided between the business premises and the household kitchen. In front, a single step in from the street, a single deep room, whose width is that of the building's front, houses counter, shelves, shop-stock and money-till. The business of a lifetime goes forward in this room. In back, a flagstone-floored kitchen with an open hearth duplicates, on

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a more elaborate scale perhaps, the country farm house kitchen. Like its country counterpart it is the seat of family life.

Upstairs, a front room facing the street is transformed, by family portraits, an ornamental mantle and a piece or two of good mahogany, into a ceremonial parlour. Behind this, range the bedrooms of the family. Perhaps, in affluence and refinement there is an upstairs sitting-room as well. For the shop is no mere place of business. It is first of all a household, of which one section and one only is devoted to the world of affairs.

The family which this household houses and supports, in the majority of cases, works the shop in much the same way that the family of the farmer works the land. It conducts its business as a united corporation in which all members may take a hand and each have his place. Husband and wife tend the counter together and between them shopkeeping is divided; sons and daughters work as shop-assistants, as long as they remain at home. Only when affluence lifts the shop to importance and dignifies the shopkeeper with the title and station of merchant, expanding his business to wholesaling, is this arrangement greatly modified.

Yet, self-sufficient as this familistic shop-world is, the countryman has many a connection with it. It lives its own quiet life and plies its own trade so different from the farmer's work upon the farm. Town life breeds its own sentiment and weaves its

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369 443 own bonds, making of the townsmen a community of conduct, feeling and values. But, nevertheless, despite this isolating process which shuts the countryman out, he is not at all remote. The first great tie, and the obvious one, is the economic. The country-dwellers buy the shop goods which move across the townsmen's counters and bring in the moneys realized in fair and market in exchange for retail goods.

But the economic tie is not sufficient, in Irish life, for permanence. Time and assimilation have woven a full social pattern round it. The pattern is really an extension townwards of the countryman's own social order. The market town fills its role as a metropolis of native sentiment in that extension.

There is a saying in the towns of Ireland that summarizes well the movements of town life. "The country-people flock into the towns," they say, "and the townspeople all die out of them." A moment's investigation bears out the fact. Though the town, too, is a familistic world, like the countryside, it differs in that it is a world in slow movement. Generation after generation, a new family sets up shop or public-house, flourishes or fails and then passes on out of the town's life; pressed from behind by the vigour of new country blood or graduated upward economically and socially into the professions. Some families withstand the movement a long time; here and there one can point to

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a century or more of burgher succession. Others have known a more rapid change of station downward or upward in a single generation. But all of them together can feel the compelling sweep of movement which is part of town life.

Is it really the countryman's vigour that sweeps thus through the Irish towns? I know that is the usual explanation, where such a situation in town and urban life exists. Much has been written in Ireland and in all modern countries about the debilitating effect of urban and near-urban life. It is the fashion to lament the onward sweep which fills the towns and cities with fresh blood, names and faces and pushes out the old. Landmarks change out of recognition; the old families disappear mysteriously, and one can cry out that a new barbarian flood is sweeping away the life's blood of the educated urban classes.

But such a view is very blind. It is astigmatic from a too close looking upon the immediate, instant case. It neglects entirely the organization of human behaviour and sentiment, unreasoned and unplanned though it be, that makes our human societies. It confounds the force of ordered change with weakness and decay.

Nowhere would the view fail worse than in southern Ireland. The countryman who presses in upon the townsman does not drive him out through superior vigour, nor does the townsman fade away in weak decay. Each is caught in a social

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369 pattern which fashions many lifetimes and their desires, ambitions, achievements and failures. History and habit have wrought a series of pathways almost as definite as those of a termite's nest; but history and habit care little which termite follows them. Vigour, if it exists, can only be measured in the ease with which the path-follower travels along his course, and the change which his passing makes upon it.

I am sure I shall be accused of a thorough-going, even mystical determinism in human affairs. But let us follow the countryman and the townsdweller and see wherein my heresy is justifiable and wherein we may temper it.

369 443 571 In the communities my colleagues and I came to know, the country customer who brings his trade into the shop does so in response to the ties of kinship and friendliness. He 'goes with' a shopkeeper or publican, most often, as he 'coors' with his country friends. This is not his only incentive but it is his principal one. The social order of which he is a part embraces the town-dwelling shopkeeper; trade follows friendship. Many indeed are the shops which rely almost entirely upon this 'family trade'. Others know it to be the base upon which they must build.

But, we remember, the relation of kinship and friendship is reciprocal. The shopkeeper is bound in his turn to his 'family trade'. He owes obligation to the 'country cousins' who buy from him. In

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this way, a durable bond is created which exists over and above the economics of retail trade. It is of the kind that the countryman understands best; it charges the relationship with interest for him; it infuses it with sentiment, habit and reciprocal force. The shopkeeper, too, can rely upon it. Even though he be caught in the demands it makes upon him, he, nevertheless, can rely heavily upon its expectancies.

The ordinary modest retail shop or pub lives upon this tie. In many cases the tie infuses business with a social content which becomes co-extensive with the distributive function the shop performs in economic exchange. If the tie is weakened, if it dies, the shop weakens and dies too. And with it dies the family which derives livelihood, status and much of its corporate existence from that shop. For possession of the shop gives status and prestige and marks one's social place for the family, as much as does the 'farm of land' in the countryside. The family's 'name is on the shop' in much the same way as the country family's name is 'on the land'. In fact, almost symbolically, that name is literally on the shop, for in Ireland most often a single word —the family name—rather than any announcement of the type of retail trade carried on—hangs over the door to proclaim the shop's existence to the buying public. And when the 'family trade' dies, that name dies out of the shop world with it.

Business, then, in the market-towns is no frantic

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search for better qualities at lower prices. It is first of all a technique in social relations. It demands an orientation to a social order, that of the countryman-customer. Customer and retailer are brought together, not primarily through a cheap price nor an eye-compelling package, but through personalities and through blood and marriage bonds.

In this social context, the interests of shopkeeper and farmer coincide. If the shop is to live it must renew its ties with the rural hinterland; if the farm on the land is to grow in status and strength it must ally itself in a higher and wider social sphere, and in so doing, provide well for its dispersed children. This coincidence of interest determines much of the shopkeeper's life; through it the countryman has assimilated the town to his own way of life.

The town represents that higher and wider sphere for the countryman. Its life is that of a higher station in life; it is a centre of metropolitan prestige. So the farmer can come to send his son into a shop, as he sends a daughter 'into the land' in match-making, to provide him with a better place in life, to make a gentleman of him. The shopkeeper may need a young and pliable assistant in his business. He must have one upon whose kindred he can depend for extension of his trade. He takes in the farmer's son.

In this way, the first of the social bonds that unite the shop and the pub to the rural hinterland

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is created. A pathway is created along which human lives can move and play out their roles in social life. One of the farmer's sons can hope, with luck and affluence, to become a shop-assistant in the market-town. The portion he receives upon the dispersal of the farm family may well take the form of such a start in life. The farmer-father pays the boy's apprentice bond.

Formal apprenticeships still flourish in Irish country towns and nowhere better than in the shop or pub. The country boy is bound in custom and in law to his new employer and learns the alien way of business and social habit under a master's eye. Eventually he may succeed to a shop of his own, but first he 'must serve his time'. In this, rural Ireland has preserved an older form and charged it with its own peculiar content. The town-bred lad is seldom hired; he brings no rural kindred with him. Then, too, he is neither so impressionable nor so easy to control. The country lad, at first, is both. The shopkeeper taps the social order of the countryside in the person of his fledgling 'prentice boy.

But time brings ordered change in social life, in the town no less than in the countryside. The boy grows up; he serves his time. He acquires the experience and the technique which fit him for the role for which his parents paid his apprentice bond. Unless he is to retain a subordinate and unimportant place as shop-assistant for a lifetime, he must move on. He must acquire a shop himself.

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369 And so he does, if he humanly can, and to that end
443 his savings go.
571 So much for the farmer's son. In his person, he
166 represents a rough one-half of the countryside's invasion of the town. Yet he has sisters, too, at home upon the farm. The attraction of metropolis is no less great for them; they, too, must be provided for in the dispersal of the family upon the land. And with them goes the rural social order and the ties of kinship and community.

In this fact one can see another rough half of the
369 rural tide that sweeps into the ranks of business in
443 the towns. The shop-world taps its country hinter-
571 land again in the persons of the daughters of the
584 farms. The farmer must, if he can, marry his daughter off well; prestige and alliance go with her and the dowry which she carries as her portion. The shopkeeper must renew his ties with the countryside with each new generation, if the shop is to survive. In this coincidence of interest, again, a great deal of the marriage custom of the town revolves. The world of shops and pubs is caught within the ordered mechanism of change called *match-making*, in the same way as is the 'farm of land'.

Currently in country towns, the 'match' is the accepted type of marriage for publican and shopkeeper as much as it is for the farmer. The more sophisticated and more affluent shopkeepers, those who are close, or would like to be, to the higher

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status of merchant, would repudiate the rustic word. They would tell you that they make instead 'proper marriage settlements'. But their humbler fellow-tradesmen, whose shops have not such pretensions, are closer to the soil. They would admit what is for both of them the fact.

Consequently, one can find in the town, round the shop and pub, the same reorganization of human relationships that goes forward when the country match transfers land and household command to a marrying son. But there is one great difference. In the town one must bring a country-woman in.

If one analyses the census of marriage, age and occupation in the Free State made in 1926, one can see how general this reorganization is. It lies behind the statistics of a great part of the country. Without it, one cannot explain the striking uniformity that gives a roughly similar grouping of individuals by age, by sex, by marital conditions, in all the towns, except the large cities, of southern Ireland. For instance, shop-assistants everywhere are young unmarried men and women. Entrance into the ownership of shop and public-house takes place at the same age as does entrance into married state. Though the towns show no such marked extremes as do the country districts, marriage is long delayed and bachelorhood and spinsterhood are very frequent by world standards. One need not be a demographer or statistician to be struck with the parallel, and to wonder at such coincidence between

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369 443 571 584 the lives of the followers of occupations so dissimilar as agriculture and retail commerce.

For this statistical correspondence overlies the facts of social life. It merely expresses numerically the community of custom between country and town. If one cares to probe deeper, among the lives whose events the census records, one finds the custom at the root of human behaviour and human sentiment. One lays bare the outline of the balance in which the lives of townsmen and countrymen co-mingle in a larger whole.

For setting up a shop means setting up a family; it means marriage and the bringing-in of a country girl. There are exceptions, of course; custom is only a general imperative. Nevertheless, the country match is the generality.

Most often, the shopkeeper-father turns over the shop to the son who is to succeed him when that son marries. The daughter-in-law is the daughter of a farmer of the countryside. Her people 'walk the shop' as they would 'walk the land' in a country match. Long negotiation equates the dowry they give with the shop, its stock, its debts and its prospects. The two families cast the agreement into proper legal form. The shopkeeper transfers his control and his ownership to the son and the son's wife. The other shop children are dispersed and are provided for, where possible. The older generation retires; and a new family is established in business in the town.

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This is a smooth and orderly transition. The shop keeps its identification with human ties unbroken, from parents to children. It renews them once again, outward into the rural hinterland, in the persons of kindred the young wife brings 'into the shop'. The shop's life blood is renewed: literally, in the persons of the new master and mistress; socially, in the extensions of kinship and alliance; and economically, because trade follows personal ties.

The erstwhile apprentice boy, the farmer's son, who sets up 'on his own', follows the same course and makes a comparable transition. His marriage and his setting up his own shop most often coincide. His savings and the bride's fortune make possible, together, many a start in the life of the market-towns. Money buys the shop, credit may stock its shelves, but it is the social alliance, contracted in a country marriage, which supplies the trade upon which business rests.

One might ask here if the role of the sexes is not reversible. Might not the young man marry-in into the shop, and the girl rise from assistantship to full-fledged ownership? Naturally, such a course might well be taken; a social order allows many channels. It has not the rigidity of formal law. Or the girl may inherit a shop, or receive one, in the towns, as her particular portion. For to set up a daughter in a small shop is to provide well for her and to assure her station for her lifetime; even

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369 though little wealth will come to her through that
443 shop door. But in the scheme of social emphases,
571 these courses are the exceptions. Practically, for a
584 finally successful adaptation, the man must rise through an economic apprenticeship. His is the bread-winning role in social life. Only the bride regularly marries into her new station.

171 We are dealing here with a social form of nearly
369 universal occurrence where a society preserves
443 some trace of patriarchal form. It is a structural
571 necessity where class lines cross-cut a familistic
582 order. In India, for instance, it is immediately recognizable to the sociologist; for Hindu society incorporates into religious or formal law much of the social custom which other civilizations allow to flow on unheeded, unrecognized and unplanned. There, a lower caste often marries its daughters into the ranks of the next immediately above. The practice is known as hypergamy.

In Western Europe hypergamy is present, in some times and places notably so. The French have recognized it realistically. And here in rural Ireland, the countryman practises it, when he can, though he would be much surprised to hear his efforts on behalf of his daughter so pedantically described. Yet even though the name would mystify him, he would understand the substance of the custom. His daughter is to be married in such a way as to bring credit and alliance to the paternal line upon the farm. That line stands to

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 [171]

gain a foothold in the world of shops. For that, the countryman is willing, currently, to pay about twice the usual dowry-price. 369 443 571 582

And in his willing adherence to custom, stability is achieved. The relationship between class and class, like that in the countryside between kindred and kindred, attains some permanence of form. The bride carries social bonds with her; in this case she carries them upward and townward into the shops and pubs of metropolis.

Her brother, on the other hand, carries with him another social function, in his capacity of male. His place is that of a potential fatherhood in a line of patrilineal descent. He carries on a corporate name upon the land or shop. Where he cannot inherit, in such descent, a sure place among his fellows, he must win it. The man is the bread-winner who carves out a place for his line; round him the family must be grouped. The woman, on the other hand, is the uniting force within the grouping. In this dichotomization of social role between the sexes, the Irish town and the Irish countryside, like the Church to which they both subscribe, are agreed. Hypergamy takes its form in the agreement. Along the lines laid down by the social bonds of apprenticeship and hypergamous marriage, the world of the market-town and the rural hinterland are united; along the same lines the flow of the country-people townward moves.

Once again, then, we see how complete the in-

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clusions of a familistic order are. The shop lives on and renews its strength. Its owner, whether he be townsman bred or migrant country lad, must 'bring a country girl into the shop'. Marriage, the establishment of a clientele, and the attainment of full status in one's class, all converge at a single point.

This order, one must not forget, is nothing esoteric; it is no more mysterious in the towns than it is in the countryside. Habit, sentiment and desire among the constituent human beings, both make it up and are made up by it. It is really the pattern into which all these melt to make a coherency of social life. Nowhere is this fact better illustrated than in the attitudes the Irish townsmen hold about their own positions within this inclusive pattern. For example, I give you the statement of one townsman, of shopkeeper rank, who could summarize the matrimonial aspirations of his fellows in terms of likes and desires. To us he may seem very conservative and early Victorian in his standards; but he is none the less aware of the demands life makes upon his kind:

"When a shopkeeper marries he wants to get a wife who can help him in the shop. He doesn't want one who has grand ideas about what a fine lady she is, because she is no good in the house and will only drive the customers away. That is why he goes to the country to find a wife. The country girl has been reared alongside her mother, she knows how

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to cook, sew, keep house, and she hasn't a lot of grand ideas in her head that the town girls have. When she comes to town, she feels she's got on in the world; while the town girl will only be wanting more than her husband can give her, or she won't do her share."

The speaker was a townsman, born and bred, but one can see that he endorsed the system heartily. He was an older man who had made his adaptations to social life successfully.

For others, for those whom the life of the town has caught up and who have acquired 'grand ideas', as the last speaker called them, adaptation is more difficult. The town, as I have said, engenders its own near-urban values. These come to conflict with those which unite the shop world to its countryside. Thus ambition is born, which means a severance of old ties. The ties become thwarting chains, and here and there a young man, caught within the pulls of two incompatible forces, becomes a bitter and scornful rebel.

One such young man, who found himself swept back into the ways of the market-towns after a brief flight into larger horizons in Dublin, fought against the fate that closed him in. He tells his own story: "This town is very dull. I don't understand what brings you here. The trouble with everybody here is that they are all misfits and that they are all in jobs they loathe. Successful men give you good counsel: they tell you to work hard and forget your

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182 troubles. But that is because they are in occupations
● 369 which they like. There is something glamorous
443 about being a solicitor, and everybody comes to
571 you. I would like to have been one. There will be
584 opportunity here when the older men clear out.

"I went off and studied in Dublin for a long while. Then my father died and my mother was stricken with paralysis and I had to come back here and work behind the counter, which I loathe. There's no one else now but my sister. Most shopkeepers make out through their family trade; and the only thing for me to do now is to marry some rich woman in from the country and then all her friends will come in. If you want to get married here there is nothing in it at all but to look out for a country girl. If you don't want to make a fool of yourself and go in for politics, you have to depend on your friends and your wife's friends, and if you can, you've got to marry a girl from the country. Then she'll bring in all her people for miles round, with all their relatives and their married families, and they're the ones that will buy your flour and sugar and tea. You can't get on without them."

182 In this rebellious young man's lament, another
369 aspect of the life of the towns appears and takes its proper place. The social order which demands the maintenance of personal bonds between countryman and townsman carries with it the seeds of change as well. The young man I have just quoted is caught within the very wheels of this change. A

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new time and place bring new adaptations in human lives and with them new values which conflict with and destroy the old. 182 369

In that fact, simply, lies the explanation of the movement by which the "country-people flock into the towns and the townspeople all die out of them".

The rebellious young man shows well in his own history the point at which change of habit drives the townsman and the countryman apart. After years of near-urban life the townsman loses touch. He can no longer meet the rural ways; he is trained in a different habit; he develops a different turn of mind. He is no longer fitted socially to meet the countryman on the old terms and to respond to the demands the social bonds connecting him with the rural hinterland put upon him. If he is born in the town, a second-generation migrant, he is all the more alien. Metropolis has won his mind, his heart, his soul. New vistas of advancement and new personal ties grow up which attract him further and further into the town's life. The bonds with the countryside are broken; they fall away before a new orientation.

So the shop dies out. The family of which the shopkeeper is a part moves onward. If it is affluent and ambitious, its members rise into the professions perhaps, or seek larger worlds to conquer. If it is not, then oblivion swallows it. It seeks a new place in the ranks of the town in which the countryside

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182 has no part. New blood fills its old place along the
369 converging lines of shops and pubs which make up the market-town. The new blood succeeds by virtue of the same ties which originally brought success to the first immigrants from the countryside. It brings with it new bonds of friendship and kinship.

This is a continual movement, a flow along definite pathways in which human lives work out their courses. The country family 'on the land', as we know, buds off with each new generation upon the farm. With the dispersed children go those relationships of a familistic order which unite the human beings in time and space. In this movement ever renewed, yet ever the same, the market-town is caught. Its shops, its pubs, its business life, the whole economic function it performs, flows with this movement.

369 571 I have described this relation between the country and the town as though it had no other content than that of kinship bonds. This, of course, is a much too simple view. There are other pathways of success and there are other ties less intimate in nature. But one cannot understand these others till this first has been fully sketched out. For the bonds round kinship and friendship form the great all-pervading base to which all the others must be referred.

In this fact lies a new consideration. In retaining

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older custom and a more intense emotional and purely social organization of life, Ireland may well have preserved better than most nations of western civilization that unity of spirit which, underneath the surface of superficial strife, welds a nation into a single crucible. If the rationale of economic and social individualism with its attempted divorce between sentiment and logical self-interest seems lacking, the matter is no cause for lamentation or disdain. Who knows ultimately which is the better way? Each people seeks its own better union; unconsciously in social habit, consciously through religion, through politics, through detached and enlightened social thought. Either the conscious or the unconscious may be the more congenial, to nations as well as to individuals.

But danger lies in neglecting one entirely for the other. In the so-called Anglo-Saxon lands one feels that the unconscious organization of social habit has been neglected for the conscious. The logical has been too often mistaken for the ultimate. The all-powerful force of human sentiment has been neglected and too lightly regarded. We are prone to forget, with many an economist, that man not only does not, but cannot and will not, live by bread alone.

The social habit of rural Ireland entertains no such fallacy. In the light of this consideration, the rest of the adaptation of the countryman to his market-town acquires a depth of meaning which

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369 lifts it far beyond the plane of the mere economics
571 of the exchange of goods and the distribution of rural and urban products.

369 For example, a great deal has been said and written about the so-called 'credit system' of rural
571 Ireland. Much indignation has been wasted pro
452 and con upon it. The term refers to the economics of retail distribution in the market-towns. The farmer is often chronically in debt to his shopkeeper. He must live upon credit from fair to fair, paying off a little of his debt from year to year with the price his cattle bring him, but seldom working himself entirely clear. Such a system of chronic indebtedness has analogues in other countries. In Ireland, many commissions have investigated it and many attempts to break its hold have been made. The shopkeeper has been called, sometimes, alas, with cause, a usurer, a 'gombeen-man'. His power as creditor is very great. Where, as here, the farmer-debtor is dependent for his shop-bought foods and farm materials upon the shop, and where no other source of credit exists, that power is, of course, well open to abuse. This is the old problem of equity, the rights of creditor and debtor, and the controls each may put upon the other. It interests us here because in it the countryman's way of life is deeply involved. Let us see what peculiar content his social order gives it.

Any credit system exists, the economist will tell

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you, upon a peculiar state of mind in which expectancies are roughly balanced. He calls it, sometimes, 'confidence'. Should all the debts be called in and all outstanding obligations mature at a single blow, the system would perforce come to an end. If 'confidence' fails, he will tell you, and a movement to dissolve the fiscal ties grows swift and strong, a crash results. The world has had bitter experience of this fact in recent years.

Yet how little we know even today of that brittle and momentous thing we name 'confidence'! We have the word, but we have not yet decided to what factors it refers. Today we grope toward it in this way and that and wrangle endlessly about the means of creating and restoring it.

In the credit system of the market-towns of rural Ireland, the problem of confidence is a simpler one. Townsmen and countrymen have not yet reached the sophistication of using the word; but they are immediately concerned with the factors to which it refers in their special case. Those factors lie immediately before them, in the social habit which they both follow.

Thus, once the shop has established trade in the creation of the bonds uniting it to the countryside: through the 'family trade' of brothers, fathers, cousins, country wives and country 'prentice boys, that trade must be retained.

The shop must have a permanent expectancy of clientele; the farmer a permanent expectancy of

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369 571 452 receiving goods and shop articles necessary in the economy by which the farm family lives. The farmer cannot shop about, paying cash; his monetary income comes only periodically: largely in the spring and autumn fairs, to a lesser extent in weekly produce markets. Nor can the shopkeeper depend upon the casual passers-by, for their number is infinitely small. The needs of countryside and town are thus coincident.

In the countryside, I must repeat it once again, kinship and friendship, practically synonymous, provide the base for this coincidence. They make the same provision for the life of the town. They are reciprocal in nature; a favour given is a favour received. A good turn done, the 'friendly thing', creates the expectancy of reciprocity. On such a base a social relationship, reciprocal and permanent, is built.

So the permanence that each party demands is the permanence of social obligation. The credit system of the market-towns rests upon this base. In such a situation, the debt the farmer owes, like the fortune he gives in marriage, is a tangible monetary symbol of alliance and mutual obligation. To owe money is not merely to accept a convenience, for either townsman or countryman. To owe money is to accept a social obligation.

One can call this disposition the 'confidence' upon which the credit system of rural Ireland rests. Naturally, the relationship is not perfectly sym-

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metrical. The shopkeeper, as creditor, has the whip-hand. As an urbanite, he has the superior status. Yet he is no less under obligation to his debtor.

Habit and sentiment weave amusing identifications round this social pattern. For example, to pay off a debt entirely is perforce to dissolve the relationship. It is to destroy the mutuality of expectations. If one's debt is paid off one loses, not only a customer, but a friend, quite literally. The ordinary small farmer would pay off all his debt only in a fit of anger. By so doing he would mean to break the tie completely and irrevocably. Consequently, he remains upon the shopkeeper's books indefinitely, paying off periodically bit by bit, but never working himself entirely clear. Should he do so, the shopkeeper would be fully warned. He would know his customer was about to carry his trade elsewhere, and to enter a new tie better suited to his desires.

But the shopkeeper is obligated, too, in his turn. He may not dun his customer heedlessly. To do so is to cast doubt upon the customer's ability or willingness, not to pay a money debt but to meet his obligation. It is in fact to call into question the social status which is his. If the shopkeeper errs in this nice tact, the debt is paid forthwith perhaps, but the relationship is broken.

Nor can he press even a just claim too far. He may often have to carry credit endlessly, in hope of better days. This is part of his obligation, and

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boycott awaits the offender or the usurper. To carry the claim to court is of no avail; one cannot these days foreclose on land in rural Ireland. Perhaps eventually he might win the farmer's holding from him, in satisfaction of his claim. But one must remember the farmer's 'name is on the land'. A whole kindred and the whole community with which the kindred is related become his bitter and dangerous enemies. In a familistic world that enmity endures for life and longer, even into the next generation.

If even then, in spite of this, the shopkeeper persists and grinds his debtor down, still another sanction closes in upon him. The countryman will make his last resort to age-old folk-belief. He will tell you, for instance, that the shopkeeper or publican dies out because the curses of men and women and the tears and prayers of broken families have wreaked a sure retribution. What better way indeed to express, in traditional mystical and quasi-religious terms, the force of social censure? The countryside can bring its whole traditional scheme of attitudes to bear upon the offender; it can justify the forces of social and personal action in the realm of the awesome mysteries of belief before which all must bow.

Thus one can see why, in folk-belief, money itself is evil. It is one of those mysterious powers which can bring, as though of its own awful and incomprehensible efficacy, both good and evil in its

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train. The finder of the 'crock of gold' is stricken down in the flush of discovery; the townsman who rises too high and waxes too arrogant in his wealth may soon be stricken, too, and his family and its shop or public-house seems mysteriously to melt away.

Nor is this the only instance in which the social order overlies the economic form of debt and shapes it to its purposes. The debt, like the dowry, can and does become a measure of status, too. It is a sign of one's ability to support that network of social obligation which gives one's self and one's family a place in social life. In this fact, too, lies 'confidence'. The debt descends with the land or the shop from father to son. It moves onward with the progression of the generations. Many a small farmer pays off bit by bit the family debt of a parent or relative. Social obligation, in which pride and sentiment are involved, long outlives the statute of limitations. In this disposition, religion, sentiment and custom coincide. Many a shopkeeper till recently has assisted a boy or girl to emigrate, in the sure knowledge that his or her remittances would eventually reach his money-till.

In the days of the British, a Royal Commission found itself mystified by this so-called 'honesty'. The debt to the landlord, in the form of rent, seemed to them an honest debt. Yet the countryman, often as not, scorned honesty in that direction; though he might bend his last efforts in what

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seemed to the Commissioners a petty commercial credit system.

They forgot, perhaps, that the landlord was removed from the identifications of sentiment and reciprocity which bound Irishman to Irishman and in which the ties between the countryside and the towns at last are formed. For a favour done is a favour received; and the debt is no more than the monetary sign of a social obligation. The 'confidence' its members have in the rural credit system is their trust in a social order.

What then can one say of that figure of Irish public life who has contributed so much to humour and story on the one hand, and to the bitterness and cynicism of his opponents on the other? I refer to the shopkeeper or publican in politics. His enemies have a stronger name for him; they call him a saloon-keeper and heap moral coals on his head. His friends, on the other hand, know him as a shrewd and genial soul.

The student of social behaviour and the types it produces cannot and must not join either the moralists or the sentimentalists. He must appraise only for the facts; knowledge is not an ethical judgment, it is the analysis of what is. Those who occupy a social place may be good or bad, brilliant or pitiful; only the place can interest the anthropologist.

This type, the shopkeeper-publican in politics, reached its zenith in Ireland in the years from 1898 to the Sinn Fein times. Only in recent years, since

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INTRODUCTION.

The cleavage between town and country has grown steadily sharper in Britain since the dawn of the Industrial Revolution, and has recently been emphasised by the partial failure of evacuation schemes. As a result, closer attention is being given to the problems of the countryside, and, reflecting this interest, stories of Farmer Giles have given way to a flood of books recording the details of his daily and seasonal tools and tasks. 369 ●

Outside the capital cities of Dublin and Belfast the cleavage between town and country has not gone very deep in Ireland; and even in Belfast business men and doctors are rarely more than a generation or two "off the land." In Eire 63% of the population is "rural dwelling," that is living outside "towns" with over 200 inhabitants. The corresponding figure for Britain would be well below 20%. Even in Northern Ireland, despite its great manufacturing industries, farming remains the most important industry, and 50% of the population lives in rural areas. Yet the younger people, at least, are often ignorant of the affairs of the countryside, and what is worse find no interest in them. I was recently approached in Co. Antrim by evacuated boys in their teens who wanted to know if a bunch of acorns they carried were hazel nuts!

This book does not pretend to be more than an introduction to a vast subject of inexhaustible interest, and I am fully conscious of the risks involved in venturing into an unexplored field and attempting to summarise its varied 12/

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443 at Ballycastle, for instance, lasted a full week and though now
527 limited to a single day is still the great event of the year in north Antrim. August and perhaps February were closely associated with the sale of sheep, the May and November fairs with cattle. In the early 19th century the great fair of Ballinasloe in Co. Galway handled as many as 20,000 cattle and 90,000 sheep. "Their whole thought," wrote Knight of the Mayo peasantry about that time, "seems to be going to fairs and selling or exchanging." "A yard of linen or a couple of chickens," says Arthur Young, "will carry an unemployed hand ten miles."

443 It is by the fairs and not by the calendar that the
366 countryman dates events. It may be observed that the popularity of fairs, with their emphasis on livestock, illustrates the strength of the pastoral tradition. They have been something of an obstacle to good husbandry because they occur at the changes of the seasons and thus interfere with field work, particularly with harvest. Nowadays most of the fairs are associated with urban settlements, but the name "Fair *Hill*" still clings to the streets where they are held, and many a town has its fair hill just outside. On such sites tents were formerly erected for refreshment, and there are certain old fair grounds now abandoned where you may see the grassy foundations of the huts and the fire holes where the giant cauldrons were boiled. In the ancient aireachts streets of booths were set up for the fair period, so that they might be described as temporary towns. Professor MacNeill has put forward the thesis that these were the "cities" named by Ptolemy in his description of Ireland.

369 This brings us to the problem of urban origins. It is
361 perhaps true to say that the fair used to be regarded as the product of the town, but recent research supports the view that the fair precedes the town and was one factor in its rise. Apart from comparative evidence drawn from certain north African communities, for instance, anyone who has watched a small town on fair day must get the impression that he is looking at something which has been going on throughout the

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ages. He sees the country taking complete possession of the town, blocking its streets, ignoring its traffic: he is in the presence of a force older and more fundamental than the town which has given it hospitality (Fig. 110).

When we inquire into the origins and antiquity of the Irish towns we find that very few go back to pre-Norman times, while it is abundantly clear that periodic gatherings in "temporary towns" are far older. The pre-Christian fortress-palaces such as Tara and Navan did not survive into historic times, and as a rule the church in Celtic lands had no civic interests, though many a confiscated monastic site was revived as the nucleus of a town when occupied by English troops in the 16th century. Some coastal cities such as Dublin and Waterford were founded by Norsemen, but most of the inland towns grew up as castle-market-towns during the Anglo-Norman period or in the plantations of the 16th and 17th centuries. To-day the five chief seaports, none of them strictly "native," contain one quarter of the total population: very few inland towns have more than 10,000 people, and only one of these is outside the industrial Six Counties. Most of the fair centres have a population of from 500 to 5,000: there are 187 towns of this size in Eire. There are 202 "towns" with from 200 to 500 inhabitants and only 25 with more than 5,000 (Fig. 107).

It is to these small towns, scattered at convenient intervals of 10 or 15 miles up and down the country, that the fairs have been attracted, the centre of authority and administration becoming the centre of exchange. Although most of the settlements are of "foreign" origin, they have become thoroughly Irish. The family system and blood-ties link up town and country, and trade follows the personal bond of "friendship," that is, blood relationship, however remote. Over shops and inns it is family names one sees painted up: O'Flynn and Flanagan take the place of the English "General Stores" and "Red Lion." Since the countryman's money comes only at the periodic fairs, he relies on the shopkeeper's credit, and the debt must never be entirely paid off, for that

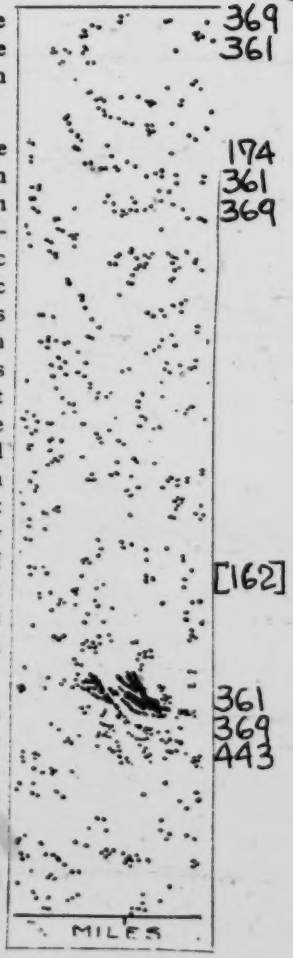

Fig. 107.
A market town with scattered country population. Each dot represents a building.

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361 would "spoil" social relations. Even in the larger towns the
[369] shopkeeper is reluctant to have his bills completely settled by
[443] his customers. These personal ties readily give rise to cliques and municipal corruption: it must be admitted that the

IRELAND
DENSITY OF
MODERN POPULATION
Scale 1:4,000,000
Reference to shading
Over 512 inhabitants to sq. mile
From 256 - 512 " " "
" 128 - 255 " " "
" 64 - 127 " " "
Less than 64 " " "
George Philip & Son, Ltd.

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Fig. 108.

corporate spirit is poorly developed. Similarly the Irish country town is generally lacking in any native traditions of
[344] civic architecture, and even the splendid buildings of Dublin and Galway together with the distinctive court-houses of smaller towns owe much to outside influence. The small